1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

the corners cut off obliquely, and with a thong in each end. One of the thongs is provided with a loop to slip over the forefinger. 524 857

Suicide

Suicides, like the insane, are rare. The practice is referred to in myths and in funeral speeches, and is credited to the Walapai, yet there have been no instances for a generation. 762

Occasionally, a man or woman gets into many difficulties, whereupon everyone blames him, calls him bad. He thinks it is no use to remain alive longer, or he feels spiteful and wants to earn the name truly; then he may fall sick and die. Suicides are regarded as crazy.

Once I [Sinyella] saw a suicide, Tohawaga's elder brother, a lad of sixteen. I do not know what they were angry about, but they fought all the time. Tohawaga's father told him to behave: "I told you repeatedly, but you do not stop." Then he beat him. The brother took a pistol from his belt and shot himself through the throat. They threw his body over the cliff above Bridal Veil Falls [this is the mode of killing horses after the death of their owner], for they would not give the usual burial to a suicide. I do not know where the soul of a suicide goes. [766]

When mourners grieve for their relatives, the chiefs console them, saying, in the course of their harangues, "You will not long be alive. Soon you will sicken and die and go the same way. Now you must be good. Do not kill yourself." 624 765

Comparative Notes

The details of construction and use of the sweatlodge would afford good evidence of historic connection were there sufficient comparative material. The Havasupai type, a small dome-shaped lodge, is probably in general use through the western plateaus and the Plains. Its equivalent among the Pueblos is the estufa (ceremonial chamber-dormitory) of Spanish days. There is some evidence that it was not in use along the lower Colorado. The Mohave did not have a regular lodge but used a closed dwelling in the manner of the Californian assembly house. Mr. E. W. Gifford informs me that neither the Yuma nor Cocopa used it, yet Trippel refers to the Yuma use in the girls' puberty rites. It was probably not used by the desert Shoshoneans of adjacent California. The Washo, according to Doctor R. H. Lowie, do not use it. There is no mention of it in Russell's account of the Pima; hence, it may be lacking there as well. Finally, the Shivwits believe that they recently acquired it from the Walapai. The well-known type of assembly or dance house takes its place in northern California. Powers places the dividing line at Sacramento City: south of there the small lodge is used.[1] 171 345

[1] Kroeber, (a), 277; Trippel, 580; Lowie, (i), 307 f; Powers, 360.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

trolling their actions. I realized that if, quite innocently, I made a decision or gave a dose of medicine and tragedy followed, I would face the same Indians, armed with the same knives and guns, who had demanded that a former teacher retract an order. Two hundred fifty against one was too great a hazard. The pleasure of working with these people had not dulled all thought of needful caution on my part. I still believed that it was better to be safe than sorry. Aside from this, I respected their deep-rooted traditions and primitive customs. So it was easy to make my administration one of give and take. I had violated an order by encouraging Manakadja to keep his two wives; my "take" had been his good will—a powerful influence in my favor.

Not long after I left the canyon, a decision by the man in charge of the tribe resulted, apparently, in the suicide of a young man. The Havasupai could not tolerate suicide. Murder—yes! What could a man do but kill to avenge a wrong? But a man should not destroy his own life. The body of a suicide could not be burned nor buried with those of their respected dead. Again they reasoned: cause and effect. And they proceeded to take action against the official who had made the decision. A hurried call to the outside for help quieted the rebellion. The old spirit of self-assertion had not yet been completely crushed, but again, as in times gone by, they felt the restraining hand of the white man's law.

All too well the Havasupai realized how government control had affected them and their way of life. Their right to kill game for the purposes of food and their freedom to roam would never be restored. One old man expressed the sentiments of all when he cried bitterly, "We are no longer men, but are little children who must *ask* when we go out or come in!"

657 Some time after 1910, the Office of Indian Affairs built a hospital in Supai, staffing it with a doctor and later with a nurse. The hospital eventually was closed. In recent years, until 1956, first aid was given by the resident missionary or the agent. The Indian Service provided medical services of diagnosis, emergency treatment, and temporary hospitalization at Grand Canyon hospital, located 49 miles from Supai. For periods longer than five days, cases were sent to Indian hospitals in Parker or Phoenix, Arizona, or Albuquerque, New Mexico (Kelly 1953, 57; Leo Schnur, M.D., personal interview, 1952).

In 1956, the United States Bureau of Public Health took over the Havasupai health program. A clinic at Peach Springs, about 75 miles from Supai, is staffed with a doctor and a nurse. The doctor comes to Supai to hold a clinic one day every three weeks. Patients are sent to Kingman or Phoenix for services of a dentist or an optician. Hospitalization is available at Phoenix Kingman, and Grand Canyon. Helicopter service for emergency cases is available from Luke Air Force Base near Phoenix. All medical service is provided free of charge.

657 871 A day school, operated by the Indian Service at Supai, was staffed with one teacher for preprimary through fourth or fifth grade until it was closed about 1956. All students now attend Indian Service boarding schools located in Arizona and Nevada.

The first Havasupai students ready for secondary school attended a boarding school at Valentine, Arizona. Later, students were sent to Fort Mohave, near Needles, and to Sherman Institute at Riverside, California. Comparatively few Havasupai are high school graduates; a large number of children leave school by the ninth or tenth grade.

Early in the school program, parents feared having their children sent away to school, having heard rumors that children at school frequently died of contagious diseases. Subsequent deaths of Havasupai children from disease and other causes while away at school, however, aroused no real resistence [762] among parents. Suicide of one youth about 1900, while he was being returned to school, was attributed to his dislike for school. While fear of disease no longer seems to be a factor, there is little parental pressure upon young people to attend school. Mothers frequently miss the help of teenage daughters in camp work, and it is said that parents "just like to have their children around." Children who run away from school seldom are induced to return.

Now that elementary school pupils must be sent away from home, Havasupai children begin first grade at the age of seven. In 1952, 10 of 61 school age children were not attending (Kelly 1953, 58). Probably an increased percentage of Havasupai children now are attending school.

[Text continues on page 17]

the village, or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may pass unnoticed, unless their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious. 584 576

However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern, for many courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood. 584

With sexual initiation occurring sometimes or perhaps often in childhood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out in play. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of mock rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants. It was not established whether boys' groups more freely discuss their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide [illegible]ne or more close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know." 864 836 584

While many marriages among younger generations grew out of courtship and some older couples apparently made love matches, Havasupai cultural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away, nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the present older generation, one woman, who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband, to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a youth of 19 in 1954, public opinion strongly condemned the boy's parents for causing his death, reportedly because they had opposed a marriage he desired. 581 183 832 [762] [208]

832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
208 shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental opposition, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the
[177] Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disregarded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further, to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception, it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents, the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home.
[302] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following mar-
[841] riage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in
[554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

578 gambling, such conflict most often arising over an unpaid debt.

579 In both instances, women sometimes engage in hand-to-hand fighting. Women of almost any age, with the exception of the very old, may be involved. Such fighting is characterized by scratching, clawing, biting, hair-pulling, hitting, kicking, or any other method that seems expedient.

In one such fight over a gambling debt, a woman of 18, who, incidentally, was in advanced pregnancy when the fight occurred, attempted to collect money from a woman of 40 who claimed she did not owe it. The younger woman attacked the older one, knocked or dragged her to the ground, and climbed astride her. While the older woman sought to fend off her adversary, her attacker pummeled her and yanked her hair. The fight was ended by the younger woman's husband, who dragged her off. The younger woman, yelling invectives at the older one, strained to break away from her husband and continue the beating she had been so successfully administering, but her husband took her home. This fight occurred at the public gambling place in view of numerous spectators.

578 837 All fights over men reported to the investigator involved the wife of the man in question and another woman suspected of adultery with him. Women probably do not fight over the affections of any man unless one of them is already married to him. Such fights are described as similar to the one above in techniques employed. Often they are broken up by the husband in question or another man who happens to be on the scene or attracted to it. Serious injury probably is not inflicted in fights between women.

Suicide and Murder

682 762 No Havasupai woman has ever come to violent death or caused one so far as could be discovered. Two known suicides, an attempted shooting (unpremeditated), two deaths by possible accident or suicide, and deliberate killings all concern men only.

762 The suicides both were young men. One, a youth of 20 or 21 years, shot himself rather than return to school at Valentine. This occurred about 1900, shortly after Havasupai children had first been sent away to school. The youth had been attending school in Valentine a year or more when he was called home because his brother was near death. After his brother's funeral, the youth delayed returning to Valentine but, under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, he finally started out of the canyon in company with an older man. On the pretext of shooting rabbits, the young man borrowed a rifle from his companion and rode off the trail some distance before shooting himself. The first bullet pierced his lip, but missed his head. The second entered his heart.

More recently, in 1954, a boy of 19 shot himself, supposedly because his parents strongly opposed his marriage to the girl of his choice. 762

The attempted shooting occurred when a man turned a gun on his son as the boy tried to stop his father from beating his mother. Apparently there is some question concerning the manner in which the father eventually met his death, but informants seemed reluctant to discuss the case. The death apparently was either suicide or accidental.

Several versions concerning the death of Prince Wodo are obtainable, depending upon the relationship of the informant to the deceased, and other factors. Reportedly, the old man was disturbed because he thought certain persons had designs upon his land. Service (1947, 362) recorded a version of the story which appears to have originated with one of the men who wanted the land but received none after the old man's death. He writes, "It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death." However, the possibility remains that the death was accidental. A disinterested and unrelated informant on the day before Prince Wodo's death witnessed a dispute between Prince Wodo and others interested in inheriting his land. This informant, although aware that Prince Wodo became angry during the quarrel, thought that the position of Prince Wodo's body may have indicated an attempt to escape from the burning house. The body was lying prone near the door as though the old man had awakened, stumbled toward the door, and fallen before he could make his way out. Spier (personal communication, 1957) inclines to the opinion that Prince Wodo, who was considered odd by his fellow tribesmen, might have been capable of suicide but there is a possibility he foolishly may have set the fire to get attention, intending to escape before the fire got out of hand. [114] [158]

A deliberate killing which occurred long ago was that of a Walapai medicine man who was believed to have killed a number of Havasupai by poisoning them. An angry relative of one of the dead stole upon the shaman while he was swimming, and from behind shot him through the heart with an arrow. The shaman had many relatives among the Walapai, but reportedly, none of them ever said anything to the Havasupai about his death. Several other killings or purported plots to kill were mentioned by informants; nearly all the victims were medicine men. 683 754

there was a vague concept of some powerful aspect coming from the air and sun which, together with the heart, was a condition of life. "When the heart quits, you know they died." We could elicit no additional data as to when or how the soul entered an individual except that it came from the east. 774

When a person died, the soul journeyed to the sky people. Shamans reported that the soul left the body through the pulse area in the throat. The soul went straight up in the air and then wandered around until it saw "that narrow path that leads to the place of the dead." Two lay informants, however, remarked that the soul stayed with or near the body of a buried person if the body had been interred with the head to the west. [The apparent discrepancy probably stems from the shamans' over-concern with the spirits and their exorcism.] The souls of shamans depart for a separate place in the sky. If a person committed suicide his soul would go to the west to join those of all people who wanted to die. There was a spirit being in the west who was considered malevolent and who attempted to influence people to his cause. To the east was another spirit who attempted to counteract his western counterpart. These looked like humans but did not have human substance. The one in the east was white; the one in the west was black. When they quarreled, the eastern spirit made half the world white, and the western spirit made the other half black. They quarreled often over individuals, each trying to attract people to his sphere. 775 [186] [754] [762] 776

It was believed that at death a person became unconscious and had no knowledge of what was happening. However, after death, while the deceased was thought to know his identity, his relatives, and where he had lived, he would not remember his illness. After death, souls took either the form of a person or of a household pet such as a cat or a dog, and could return as ghosts. This usually happened at night. If a ghost attempted to return and communicate with a close friend, the friend would become sick and die. If ghosts appeared in a darkened form or "like a fire burning red," they were considered more harmful. Occasionally people saw ghosts of the dead walking by or heard them making noise. The body below the waist appeared normal, but the upper portions were without head or arms. It was wrong to try to touch a ghost; one might become weak. If one cried out, one would fall unconscious. A shaman would be called to sing for one who saw a ghost. The shaman would walk over the area where the ghost had been encountered in an attempt to learn why it had wanted the person who saw it to become sick and die. The shaman then would sing, urging the ghost to leave. Shamans, of course, sang over the patient. One informant, referring to an event that occurred about 1920, said that one evening when it was nearly dark he had seen two persons standing by his house. At first he thought they were neighbors, but noticed that they were dressed in white [an Anglo concept?] and had no heads. It appeared as though smoke was coming from their necks. He watched a short while and saw them "turn to nothing." 775 [163] 756 755 775